21: Asai--4 [2] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 756

"In almost all the tribes there are medicine men or women. Shamanism is also found in the Siroiya tribe. The Siroiya have become almost completely acculturated with the Chinese and speak Fukien Chinese. Their own culture has practically disappeared. Shamanism is not borrowed from the Chinese. Very detailed descriptions of Shamanism are found in early Dutch accounts."

21: Asai--7-8 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 462, 752, 756

"Medicine men and women do different things. The medicine women are usually very sensitive and sometimes a little insane. They cure diseases, put hexes on individual's enemies. In Bunun they are very careful not to leave hair, etc. around so that they won't have a curse put on them. In the case of serious illness, they believe the person has the soul of the [8] father or mother in them. The medicine woman gives offering to the ancestors and asks that the spirits go away. If a person has pains in distinct places, the pain is caused by an enemy, and the medicine woman must make a counter-charm to make the pain go away."

22: Wiedfeldt--35 F-5 (1913) 1914 Formosan Aborigines
116, 463, 304, 756 Atayal

Division of labor among the Atayals has not yet progressed to the point of vocational training, for every family produces all that it needs itself. There are no artisans. The only exception to this rule is that of the prophetess and medicine-woman, who receives payment for her poisonous drinks, her prophecies, and especially for her tattooing, in the formof gifts which are scaled according to the means of the client, a method of calculation which is current among modern doctors also. The only profession which has been able to develop because it finds a field for its accomplishments in the custom of tattooing, is therefore one of the activities of the women, and, if one considers tattooing treatment of the body, and hence an activity which falls in the sphere of the doctor, it is a profession which in our day women have had to struggle to wring from the monopolistic control of men, while among the Atayals it is handed down from mother to daughter.

34: Del Re--33 U-4 (no date) No Date Formosan Aborigines
116, 796, 805, 622, 756, 226 Yami

"The ceremony of 'calling' the flying-fish opens the year which begins, according to the Yami system, in April corresponding, in the solar calendar, to October. It is accompanied by most elaborate ritual observances the purpose of which is to secure a good season and to celebrate the arrival of the fish. On this occasion the tribe annually chooses the man whom it considered best fitted to exercise the role of high priest and to represent it. It may be noted in passing that, contrary to what occurs in other tribes, the Yami have no medicine-women, all ritual observances being restricted to men alone."

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship[3]. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotšɛ* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *šikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods[4]. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa[5].

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*.

Each individual possesses a soul, called *doŋɛ*.[6] If one's *doŋɛ* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *doŋ* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19–23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.[7]

Shamanism

Religious activities are carried out by *šikawasai*, or shamans, and *kakita:n*, or priests. The functions of both are well-defined. A *šikawasai* is consulted mainly to strengthen or call back the *doŋɛ* of a sick person. In this sense, the *šikawasai* may be defined as medicine-men. The *kakita:n* manage the Ami religious ceremonies, most of which are agricultural in nature. A *šikawasai* is believed to have been chosen by a dead *šikawasai* or by the *šikawasai* gods. When a young boy or girl contracts a chronic illness, he (or she) is regarded as having been chosen, and it is believed that that individual be cured by becoming a *šikawasai*. This child will then be taught the techniques by an older *šikawasai*. In the first year of his apprenticeship, until the next *irisiŋ* (the Ami New Year), a taboo on the eating of fish and vegetables must be observed. He is also required to pursue hard labor and to abstain from washing the body. A primary qualification for a *šikawasai* is the ability to achieve a state of delirium.

There are today approximately ten *šikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *šikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsiu-ku-luan Ami: "*tšidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *tšidar*. The *kakita:n* call on *tšidar* in the *irisiŋ*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."
4. Sayama [1914] listed the names of two *šikawasai* gods, *saoriŋa* and *sararazol*.
5. Mabuchi [1934-35] discusses this theogony.
6. Furuno [1940:19-21] and Mabuchi [1934-35] recorded the *doŋɛ* as a goddess.
7. This belief is found among other Formosan tribes. For a Bunun example, see Mabuchi [1951:55].

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due to the fact that men have more difficulty in attaining a state of delirium (Oikawa 1935) obviously does not apply in Tavarong.

When a *šikawasai* is at his devotions, he wears special clothing and dances and prays. Sometimes wine, pigs, and rice-cakes are offered to the gods. The *šikawasai* often uses banana and ginger leaves to rub over the affected part of the patient. The patient fasts while under treatment, and his family observes a taboo on eating fish and vegetables and on sexual intercourse.

There are seven kinds of rituals used by the *šikawasai* to cure disease. The prefix *pa* in the following ritual names means "to do anything connected with a ritual".

1) *miriwai*. This is a five-day ritual in which the *šikawasai* prays to *maratau*.
2) *pamaratau*. This ritual is shorter than *miriwai* and, according to the informants, "less serious". The *šikawasai* dances and prays to the *tatakusan*, the ancestors.
3) *pasaer*. A simpler ritual than the above two and which lasts for one or two hours. It is used to cure sickness brought on by the god of millet (formerly the staple crop) as a punishment for wrongdoing.
4) *pakawas*. On the death of a *šikawasai*, the *šikawasai* god may tell a man with a chronically ill offspring that that child should be shaman. This ritual is held to determine whether that course is correct. In it, the *šikawasai* consulted by the father prays to the *šikawasai* god.
5) *pasasidoi*. A simple spell to drive away the *karia* and to bring back and strengthen a person's *doŋɛ*.
6) *padoŋɛ*. A prayer to one's *doŋɛ*.
7) *mian?an*. The *doŋɛ* of small children are not stable and are often lost. This ritual is performed to stabilize them.

The choice of the ritual to be used for curing a disease is determined by the result of *mi]?ao* divination. Utsurikawa provides a detailed description of the Ami *mi?ʃao* (Utsurikawa 1938), translated as follows:

> The divinatory instrument is called *mi?ʃao* and consists of two parts. One is termed *ʃao*. A *ʃao* is a strip of bamboo, about 35cm in length, with a bamboo-joint at one end and the inside face whittled with a knife. The whittling starts from the end with the bamboo-joint, so that mane-like whittled fibres remain attached to the other end. The remaining unwhittled part of the bamboo strip thus becomes thin and string-like. The process for making a *ʃao* is rather complex. The bamboo must be cut at a definite period of the year. With rice, wine, and betel nuts as offerings, they pray to their ancestral gods. The bamboo is then smeared with cow's blood and must be kept away from women. During the next few nights, the maker must seek for dream-omens. The bamboo, the material for making a *ʃao*, is called *ʃagas* in Tavarong and Kiwit. About five or six bamboos are bound into a bundle and hung above the fireplace for drying. The method of preparing a *ʃao* differs in other villages.

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On the sixth day, all grade members gathered once more in front of the *kakita:n* house. At this time, all the *šikawasai* (shamans) of the town came to the house and performed rites to ward off disease from the attending celebrants. Then, the *šikawasai* danced together, while the others went out to their own fields to perform a ceremony of mimical cultivation to guarantee a good harvest in the year to come.

The final day of the *irisiŋ*, all the inhabitants of Tavarong went to fish in the streams and rivers. Each individual offered one fish to the gods to inform them that the New Year had commenced. After the celebrants returned to the town, the fish were offered to the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods; the offering was then divided up among the populace and eaten, thus breaking the taboo on fish and vegetables. This concluded the *irisiŋ*.

Conclusions

In our examination of Ami religion, we found that at least in part Ami society can be considered as a theocracy. The *kakita:n*, the hereditary priests, combined in their persons both temporal and spiritual power. The priestly house served as the ceremonial and political center of the tribesmen and may bear some theoretical importance as a possible prototype of the village-temple.

Shamans and priests are clearly distinguished among the Ami. The former succeeded by reincarnation, and the latter through inheritance. Ami shamanism [this was still true in 1953] in typically Asiatic, in that its practitioners are emotionally unstable individuals who derive their power from direct contact with the spiritual world; this contact is made at times of the greatest physical strain [chronic illness]. Ami shamanism is also of a non-Arctic type, since the neophyte is indoctrinated with the shamanistic techniques, instead of receiving them through spiritual experiences of a personal, charismatic nature. The shamans practice a complex and typically Indonesian type of divination.

As with many other peoples of the Indonesian culture area, no sharp distinction is made by the Ami between gods, spirits, and souls, which are all designated by the generic term *kawas*. However, the Ami are atypical among the Formosan tribes in that they possess a relatively highly developed genealogical mythology or theogony. The possible relation between this theogony and Ami social structure is worthy of future study. It may be of significance, for instance, that in this matrilineal society the sun is a female goddess, and the moon male. This spiritual world provides the power and justification for all Ami religious activities, being beseeched with prayers and bribed with offerings.

The *irisiŋ*, the great New Year ceremony which was described in detail, is functionally a world renewal ritual, the renewal of the powers of the stream and soil and, in fact, a renewal of the whole society. In this, the population was